1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have.

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supportihg friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages.

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are ' able to feed themselves ', who are ' not lazy and not thin '. They do not want ' far-hearted ' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly.

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires ' like a bitch '. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope.

Girls would not want a man ' as tall as a giraffe ', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, ' Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaus* (a spirit)? '

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, ' Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting? ' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness.

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride.

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that.

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt.

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains.

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband.

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, 304 and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

304

Fig. 4. Forehead Tattoo.
One-third natural size [as shown in the original text].

a, Longitudinal line
b, Crossbar
} Both formed by countless small incisions which are indicated by the lines.

c, Deeper and longer incisions in the crossbar.

Usually green pigment is rubbed into the tattoo.

Boys and girls are tattooed at about 12 to 14 years of age (also earlier and later) and, of course, by the "doctor" or by the "woman doctor." Special ceremonies or the like are not observed on this occasion, but the operation is performed in the bush away from the settlement. As many young people as possible come from several settlements to be tattooed, but in any case this is only for practical reasons. On this occasion
527 festivities are also held, that is, eating and dancing, but these festivities are only indirectly connected with the tattooing. Whenever several /142/ Bushmen are together, if they have

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply pro-
304 vided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record.
[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.

[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed ani-
[237] mal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

/142 cont./

304 Also, in rare cases the labia minora are supposedly stretched by pulling them with the hand.

F. Clothing

291 The clothing of the Auin can be seen in Photographs 25 and 26.

Men's Clothing

a) Cap made of hide (jackal, jumping hare, Erdmännchen [field mouse?], cat).

a[1]) War cap made of the hide of the aardwolf (see also Photo. 21), only worn in war.

b) Loincloths, always made of ibex hide. A string runs from the loincloth back through the buttock crease and is fastened tightly to the hip band from which the loincloth is suspended in front. The entire contraption has somewhat the same effect as a suspensory in that the scrotum is raised somewhat (see Photos. 9-11).

c) Cloak, always made of ibex hide.

[415] d) Collecting bag, always made of ibex hide.

In addition, one often sees sandals made of the hide of a large antelope, or sandals for running (see Fig. 5). [Fig. 5 appears here.]

[293] Further, there is a kind of fan consisting of a jackal tail fastened to the end of a stick, as well as gaiters made of antelope skin. The latter are /143/ worn by men and women, particularly in thorny terrain. In shape they resemble the Greek greaves.

Women's Clothing (see Photos. 27 and 28)

a) Head ornament. On less festive occasions, a cap styled like the men's peace cap is often worn instead of the head ornament. Usually the head is uncovered on top.

b) Modesty apron. As can be seen in Photographs 12 to 14, this consists of a bundle of leather strips suspended from a string

[Text continues on page 19]

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41. The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

278 Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

278 The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
411 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

521 The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
578 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

757 The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing purposes. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

/157 cont./

841 The water and food collected by menstruating women are consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 858 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

553 A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grandmother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

145 Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

881 The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysterious about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of [535] another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

[884] The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

• [304] Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of manhood

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy
584 commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

881 [31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire.
[40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 [439] Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be- [422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 ●[304] Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out 177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked 415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are 278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen. 805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions; 211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 [614] [688] [623] Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary. To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements BETWEEN THE CHIEF AND THE OTHER OLD MEN.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 535 323 302 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones. They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and [751] its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 836 684 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the consent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game.

584 The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan.

582 Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.

304 681 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse [836] between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the

761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In

764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;

178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

NOGAU
≠AUIN

[69 cont.]

881 assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two vertical incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing throughout the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . .
[539] oho, oho," etc.

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the
[304] forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three ani-
[262] mals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and
[539] sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

≠Auin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into
881 the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following
[535] dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected
[304] with the declaration of manhood.

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 262 825 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

●304 302 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 756 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ≠Auin there are magical bones 787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that (172) the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

262 Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

224 (114) (113)

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

/245 cont./

142 millimeters. Two or three hairs form a tight unit. A number of such units are clustered into a tuft that forms an almost impenetrable tangle of hair. The yellowish-brown skin of the head is visible between the tufts, so that the surface of the skull gives the
302 impression of an area with black spots. Extensive variations are to be found in the manner of dressing the hair, but all Bushmen from time to time have their head hair cut. The women commonly leave an edge of longer hair uncut and let it fall horizontally toward the back from the hairline on the forehead. Frequently also an oval area is shaved on the skull or on the edge of the forehead down to the ears.

145 I did not observe any loss of hair, even among old persons, but I did notice graying, not, however, to the same extent as among Europeans.

304 Tattooing is very popular among the Heikum Bushmen.

I found three types of tattooing:

1. An ornamental tattoo. This consists of parallel longitudinal incisions about one centimeter in length and arranged in rows. These rows of incisions are to be found predominantly on the face, on cheeks, temples, and foreheads, and especially among women they frequently radiate towards the middle of the face which, however, is left clear. The ornamental tattoo is also to be found on other parts of the body at any number of places, such as the chest, the abdomen, the upper arm, and the upper thigh. The incisions are quite superficial and give the appearance of fine black lines. The bluish-black coloration of the scars is achieved by rubbing charcoal into the freshly-made incisions.

2. Deeper incisions, which correspondingly leave heavier scars, form the forehead tattoo which is common to all Heikum Bushmen with no age or sex distinctions. The tattoo consists of several parallel vertical incisions about two centimeters in length between the eyebrows. As a result of this tattoo there is a number, usually five, of deep and closely adjoining folds between the eyebrows, giving even younger individuals an older appearance. In the case of older persons the base of the scars /246/ is raised by the formation of keloids, so that the region between the eyebrows has the appearance of a cock's comb.

/246 cont./

304 3. The third and most curious is a manner of tattooing which I should like to designate as the antelope tattoo, a kind of inoculation that I have seen in no other native African tribe. This type of tattoo is used only by males and consists of the following: Through parallel incisions little pieces of antelope flesh, especially gemsbok flesh, are placed under the skin of male children, with the idea that the child thus inoculated will have the speed of the antelopes in running. The incisions are most commonly made on the buttocks, but they are also to be found on the chest, abdomen, and back.

[827]

757 One also commonly finds scars all over the body from blood-letting incisions "to draw off" illnesses.

Viewed from above, the head shows no peculiarities, although
142 dolichocephaly does not seem to me to be as marked among the Bushmen as it is among the Bantu Negroes. The protuberance at the back of the head is so little developed that it can scarcely be felt on most individuals.

The profile view of the face permits one to recognize a clear alveolar prognathy. In the case of most individuals the upper lip in the profile view extends beyond the tip of the nose. The edge of hair around the fairly straight forehead runs in an even curve from one ear to the other.

The bones of the eyebrow arches protrude sharply, while the forehead bulge is only slightly developed.

The cheekbones with the widely-projecting zygomatic arches form prominences jutting out sharply in the temporal and cheek region.

142 Most Bushmen show a striking prominence of the parotid gland region, which in the case of some individuals swells out so that it
147 is actually hemispherical. I was unable to determine whether the swelling is caused more by hypertrophy of the parotid gland or by a particularly strong development of the chewing musculature. This swelling of the parotid gland region is, I believe, not a racial peculiarity of the Bushmen, but rather a consequence of their way of life which necessitates a root diet requiring very heavy use of the chewing apparatus. At any rate, I observed the same peculiarity among the Herero, who for a long time were dependent upon veld food.

/246 cont./

142 The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food,
147 especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity.
171 The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

142 The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

● 304 The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth.
648 Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

142 The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pronounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which
[144] is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

881 ceremony, which may last for a month or even longer. The latter, as practised among the *ǂAo-//ẽin*, consists of several stages. On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the smoke of the "devil's" fire (*//gãua-da*) and are required to partake of the "devil's" urine (*//gãua-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nõun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nõun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//nõun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the "Devil" and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nõun* and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. [304] Each one who passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft.

Courtship and Marriage, Death, Etc.

582 Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women. The southern groups among the Bushmen 184 595 of the Kalahari are monogamous but as one proceeds northwards polygamy is met with. Among the *Hei-//om*, for example, each man has two wives as a rule. The wives may or may not be related. The second wife is taken some time after the first. The wife taken first is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over the second wife. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation. Polygamy is rarely met with among the *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron*. Exchange of wives

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and
291 square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

is a painful procedure. The cuts are made on the thighs and forehead with a knife or ax blade, then charcoal is rubbed in, but the woman told us later that in her case it had been worth the pain and trouble because, she said, she was extremely ugly and had been made more beautiful.

Her baby's name was Nhwakwe, she told me, and after that we were at a loss for conversation. I offered her a cigarette, which she declined, indicating that it made her cough. I was surprised, for she was the only Bushman I had ever met, man, woman, or child, who did not smoke.

Presently she smiled, pressed her hand to her chest, and said: "Tsetchwe." It was her name.

"Elizabeth," I said, pointing to myself.

"Nisabe," she answered, pronouncing after me and inclining her head graciously. She looked me over carefully without really staring, which to Bushmen is rude. Then, having surely suspected that I was a woman, she put her hand on my breast gravely, and, finding that I was, she gravely touched her own breast. Many Bushmen do this; to them all Europeans look the same.

"*Tsau si*" (women), she said.

Then after a moment's pause, Tsetchwe began to teach me a few words, the names of a few objects around us, grass, rock, bean shell, so that we could have a conversation later. As she talked she took a handful of the beans out of her kaross, broke them open, and began to eat them. This is a wonderful, bitter bean, shaped like a lima bean, which grows on tiny bushes in patches throughout the Kalahari. When you eat these beans they burn your tongue, throat, and stomach, but they take away hunger and thirst. Besides the beans in her kaross, Tsetchwe, who began unloading, brought out a large, edible root which she had dug up—she must have been gathering food before we came—and put it in the shade of a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her forehead which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she decorated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children. Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender, graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick. People had despaired of him, believing that he would never be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the headmanship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it, and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he was a man.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 156 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 [173] [171] [562] [535] [534] [302] [304] PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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[824]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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[224]

No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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[852]

The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty" and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162] and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 623
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy.

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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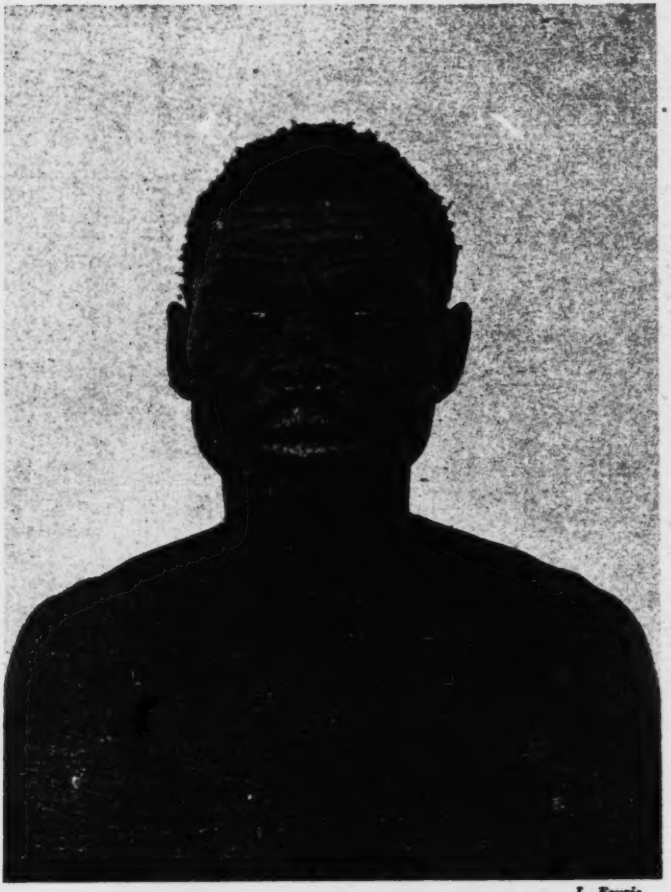

L. Fourie

AUEN BUSHMAN
Showing initiation cuts between eyebrows

[FRONTISPIECE]
[FACING p. iii]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *Travels . . . in S. Africa*, i, 43.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B 184 304 224 881

given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

B 184 304 881

According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion.

Hottentots

H 304

Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never

H [147]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarized by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien . . . der südafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.
[3] Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4.

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adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood, together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down. After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail. Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

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184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gäüa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, [114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

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881 smoke of the 'devil's' fire (*//gâũa-da*) and are required to partake of the 'devil's' urine (*//gâũa-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nôun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nôun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise, their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//noun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the 'Devil' and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nôun*, and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards, each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. Each one who
● [304] passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft."

The introduction to the "Devil" mentioned in this account
[535] obviously refers to the dance in which Hishe or Huwe, as the case may be, appears before the boys. The hunting test almost certainly forms an essential part of the ceremony in the other tribes as well, judging from a curt remark by Miss Bleek in another context that the boys' initiation rites "certainly have much to do with hunting",[1] but there is no concrete information on this point. The "tattooing",
881 304 or rather cicatrization, referred to by Fourie is confirmed by all the other writers on the puberty ceremonies of the North-Western Bushmen. Among the Kung the boys receive these cuts (*/gi* cuts) between the eyebrows, and, among the Naron and Auen, also on the back between the shoulder blades. They consist of from one to three vertical incisions, about half an inch to an inch long, and are made by the magicians in charge of the ceremonies. Among the Naron

[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.

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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them.

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2]

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys.

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, XIII, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, II, 31–2.

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304 481 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age. . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They 881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of [834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

114 304 177 184 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

[1] Op. cit., 158–60.

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226 more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also [462] the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method [227] employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds, about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared [177] from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu [501] and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap. The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current, or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

224 The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and ● 304 beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully. The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks, occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat [825] is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangosumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 106–9.

[2] [i.e., fishing.—Analyst]

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of boys at the puberty ceremonies are also said to have the function of making them "see better" in hunting.[1] Seydel briefly mentions the existence of similar practices among the Namib Bushmen. Cuts are made on the forehead or upper arm of a man in order that he may have better fortune in hunting. These cuts are made by a near relative of his, such as father, brother, or wife, and are given only to adults.[2]

There is no record of such scarifications among the Cape Bushmen, although here also a well-developed ritual existed in connection with hunting life. Unfortunately, only fragments of this have been recorded. They show that there were certain special precautions to be observed before going out on the hunt, and especially during that critical period when the game has been wounded but not yet taken. Thus, when an animal has been wounded, the flesh of the swift springbok may not be eaten by the hunter, as this would give strength to the movements of the wounded buck; he should rather eat the flesh of a slow-moving animal, especially of such as would strengthen the action of the poison. The moon must not be looked upon when following the spoor, lest the animal run too far—a belief also held by the Naron. The hunter's shadow, again, must not be allowed to fall upon game which lies dying; certain (unspecified) rules have to be observed when an eland has been shot; the bones of the dead animal must be treated in a certain way; Bushman girls perform special ceremonies, in order that their father's dogs may hunt well, while certain cuts must be made upon the bow when a baboon or hyena has been killed. Unfortunate shots are believed to be due to such causes as the children at home playing on a man's bed, and are also ascribed to the remissness of wives, while there even appears to be a belief that unsuccessful hunting may forebode evil to the hunter. Also it is held that after the death of a companion the hunters will be unlucky in springbok hunting, and certain (unspecified) remedial measures are resorted to.[3]

Beliefs of a somewhat similar nature are found among the Heikum. As we have already seen, the meat of an animal killed with the bow and arrow is subject to minutely-prescribed rules of division and preparation. Moreover, a man who shoots an eland or giraffe must, on

[1] Chapman, op. cit., i, 56, 76, 81, 159; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 246; Passarge, op. cit., 108–9; Vedder, op. cit., 9; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 50, 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 114–15; *idem*, *Naron*, 11.

[2] "Aus der Namib," 505.

[3] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15–16, 19, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 66 sqq., 270 sqq.

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764 often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral 765 they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and [768] never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are much affected by death is certain, for they often weep at such times, especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment; and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus decorated.[1]

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

All the accounts given above are admittedly inadequate. They 114 agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a con- 764 tracted position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence 768 of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person may be able to use them in the future world, but because people do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen [769] point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen 775 hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine. Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen, that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there [304] is a place called *'too'ga*, to which after death they will all go; and that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

[1] Dornan, *op. cit.*, 144–6. [2] *Op. cit.*, 14.

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while those dying a " good death " go to */khutse* (*/khuba*). " About the nature of these beings," he adds, " they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them " on the other side " into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below " Magic and Magicians "), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say " *//gaua* thunders ", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words : " *//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires ; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for " God ") ; " we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, " but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the " great captain " *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46 ; Fourie, " Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7 ; D. F. Bleek, " Buschmänner von Angola," 54 ; *idem*, " Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

306

306 JEWELRY MANUFACTURE--cutting, polishing, and mounting of gems; specialized work in precious metals; lapidary art; manufacture of valuable ornaments and costume jewelry; specialized jewelers; etc. See also:

Nonprofessional manufacture of ornaments . . 301
Work in ivory and mother-of-pearl 321
Smiths and their crafts 326
Manufacture of silverware and gold plate . . 328
Lapidary tools 413

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [53] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em- 301 broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

142
301
516
[212]
[306]

[151]

FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

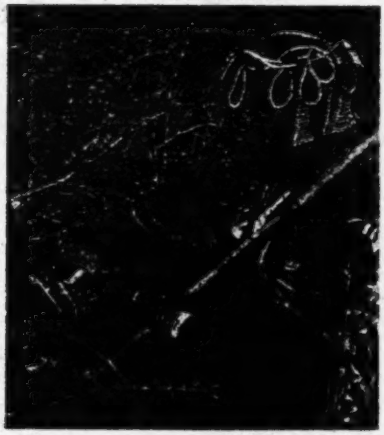

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

342
516

[140]
[301]

FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. /Toma laughing

[P. 240-B]

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372 [412] [415] decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom, which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is [283] twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 285 [412] Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 [415] [306] Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water, and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small 412 324 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or [439] [326] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 324 [323] The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 321 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for [237] [415] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

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311 LAND USE--completeness and efficiency with which the potentialities of the land and its resources are utilized; distribution of waste land, forests, pasture, tilled land, and areas of settlement and industrial use; diversification and specialization (e.g., monoculture); trends, etc. See also:

Natural resources 13
Animal husbandry 23
Agriculture 24
Settlements 36
Conservation 188
Forestry 313
Productive capacity of the economy 433

/147 cont./

241 Agriculture is unknown. Only accidentally grown food plants are known.

222 311 In order to promote the growth of the veld crop, the Bushman burns off the grass. A Bergdamara with whom I rode across a burning grass veld said to me: "The Bushman is making his garden."

462 Work of the men:

- Hunting
- Occasional veld crop gathering
- Collecting wood
- Fetching water
- Preparing hides
- Making clothes
- Making weapons and mortars
- Making strings
- Making fire by twirling

Work of the women:

- Hut construction
- Cooking
- Veld crop collecting
- Maintaining the fire
- Getting wood
- Getting water
- Making women's clothes

412 The only "agricultural implement" is a digging stick (see Fig. 9).

222 For one who is not a botanist it is impossible to describe in intelligible terms, even roughly, the numerous wild food plants of the Auin. The collection of specimens must take the place of a description. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make such a collection.

For the person who is familiar with the Southwest African veld crops, I shall give a list of some food plants, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

- Tschamma
- Spiny tschamma
- Ontjes of the Boers
- Water tubers
- So-called "wild potatoes"

organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the ǂAo-//ẽin all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big ǂAo-//ẽin Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

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574 sibling of the leaders of the two Dobe camps, and therefore has an unquestionable claim to the Dobe resources. N!ain!a has two married daughters whom she frequently visits. One lives at !angwa and the other at Bate. These two daughters and their husbands make reciprocal visits to Dobe about once a month. N!ain!a has a classificatory uncle at !ubi. During the winter she would make daily trips to collect the Baobab fruits that are available only at !ubi. Her uncle, in turn, would make reciprocal visits to collect the vegetable ivory fruits which are abundant around Dobe. Thus N!ain!a maintains active claims in three of the territories adjacent to her own.

N/eysin!a (N!ain!a's older brother) is unlike N!ain!a in that he prefers to remain in his home territory rather than visit other camps. N/eysin!a's kinship ties with members of other camps are numerous but the reciprocal obligations implicit in these kinship ties remain latent because N/eysin!a rarely visits his relatives in other camps.

361 Inter-territorial visiting is perhaps the most important single principle of land utilization among the Dobe area Bushmen. Concerning land utilization within the individual territory, three significant features should be noted.

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First, each of the territories borders on an uninhabited hinterland of indefinite size (see Map 14). Because of this, it is difficult to derive an estimate, in square miles, of the

311 area of each territory.

[312] Second, the area and shape of an individual territory is [824] influenced by the distance between the important resources within it, such as water sources and mongongo nut forests. It is these point resources and not the spaces between them that are the significant features of the landscape.

Third, territories overlap each other and there is disagreement as to the ownership of these overlapping areas. Most Bushmen say that these areas are owned by all, which means, in effect, that they are owned by no one.

Each of these features will be discussed in detail.

1. Hinterland - It was mentioned earlier that the Dobe area [312] was surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country. Except for a few summer months there is no standing water in this belt and, as a consequence, the Dobe area people rarely bother to hunt and gather within it. This outer belt is not lacking [136] in food resources, however. Surveys of the country by Land- [137] Rover indicate that the game and plant foods there are even more abundant than they are within the traditional territories. Why then are these resources so infrequently utilized?

311 The answer lies in the fact that the Bushmen can usually
312 satisfy their annual subsistence requirements within a radius
361 of 15-20 miles from their permanent waterholes. Whenever possible the Bushmen prefer to make their camp sites at

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361 standing water sources. Since the number of these water sources is limited, it follows that the areas around the water sources will be the most intensively utilized. The Bushmen know how to live on alternative sources of moisture such as Fockea monroi but only resort to this subsistence strategy for a week or two at a stretch.

It is a good rule of thumb for the Dobe area that the intensity of utilization of land varies inversely with the distance from standing water sources. Since a Bushman group must spend the six dry months of the year at its permanent waterhole, it is not surprising that the area within a walking radius of this waterhole is intensively utilized. Similarly, since the Bushmen spend three months of the year at the large summer water sources, the areas within a walking radius of these water sources is also intensively utilized. During the brief period in December or January when there is standing water at many localities, the Bushmen can utilize areas that lie beyond a walking radius of the major water sources.

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These three levels of intensity of utilization are illustrated schematically in Map 15. This scheme disregards for the moment the actual pattern of distribution of food resources peculiar to each territory. The shaded circles enclose all of the areas that are within a six mile radius of a permanent waterhole. These are the only areas that can be reached by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 144]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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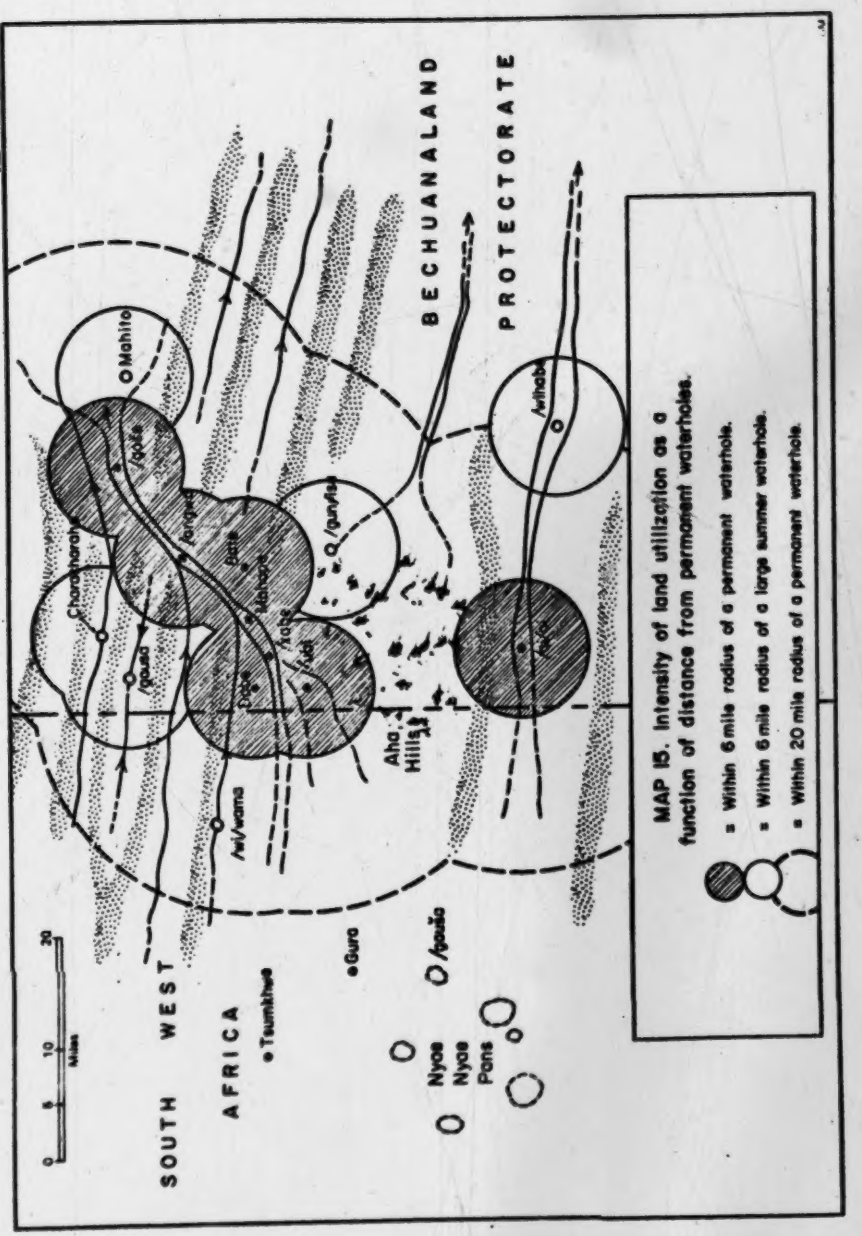

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221 a round trip hike of 12 miles or less.

The distance of 12 miles was chosen for this illustration, because this was close to the maximum distance that the Bushmen were willing to walk in a single day of food gathering. In the previous chapter it was mentioned that Bushmen hunters and gatherers do not stay away from their camps overnight. Therefore an individual hunter or gatherer will confine the day's activities to within a limited radius of his or her camp. These expressed preferences set the limits on the size of the winter areas of intense utilization.

A similar situation exists in the areas that are within a six mile radius of the main summer water sources. These are represented on Map 15 as unshaded circles. These further areas are intensively utilized during the summer months.

These areas of intensive utilization are surrounded by a belt of country that lies within a twenty mile radius of the permanent waterholes. Twenty miles was the average maximum distance from permanent water that the Bushmen were observed to range. This belt is enclosed by a dotted line in Map 15. It should be noted that the Bushmen groups spent on an average less than one month of the year working these areas. The great majority of their time was spent closer to the standing water sources.

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361 The Dobe area Bushmen were not observed to make camps

311 361 beyond the area enclosed by the dotted line, and this line therefore accurately represents the total utilizable space of the Dobe area.

311 312 361 824 2. Point resources — In Map 15, the picture of land utilization was simplified by omitting the actual patterning of food resources. In fact, the extent and configuration of the intensively utilized areas is influenced by the location of the mongongo nut forests and the distance of these forests from the permanent waterholes. These resources are plotted in Map 16. For instance, in an area where the mongongo nuts within a walking radius of water are sufficient to support a camp throughout the year, a group's territory will be small. However, in an area where the mongongo nuts are less locally abundant, the territory must, of necessity, be much larger.

The people of !goše, for example, are fortunate in having a vast nut forest within a ten mile radius of their waterhole. [162] The nuts from this forest are abundant enough to support the 62 members of the !gose camp throughout the year. By contrast, the nut forests near Dobe are much less abundant than at !goše. [162] The 36 members of the Dobe camps have to walk farther (up to 18 miles at the end of the dry season) in order to collect the mongongo nuts. As a result, the effective annual territory of the Dobe people is larger than that of the !goše people, despite the fact that the population of Dobe is smaller than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 147]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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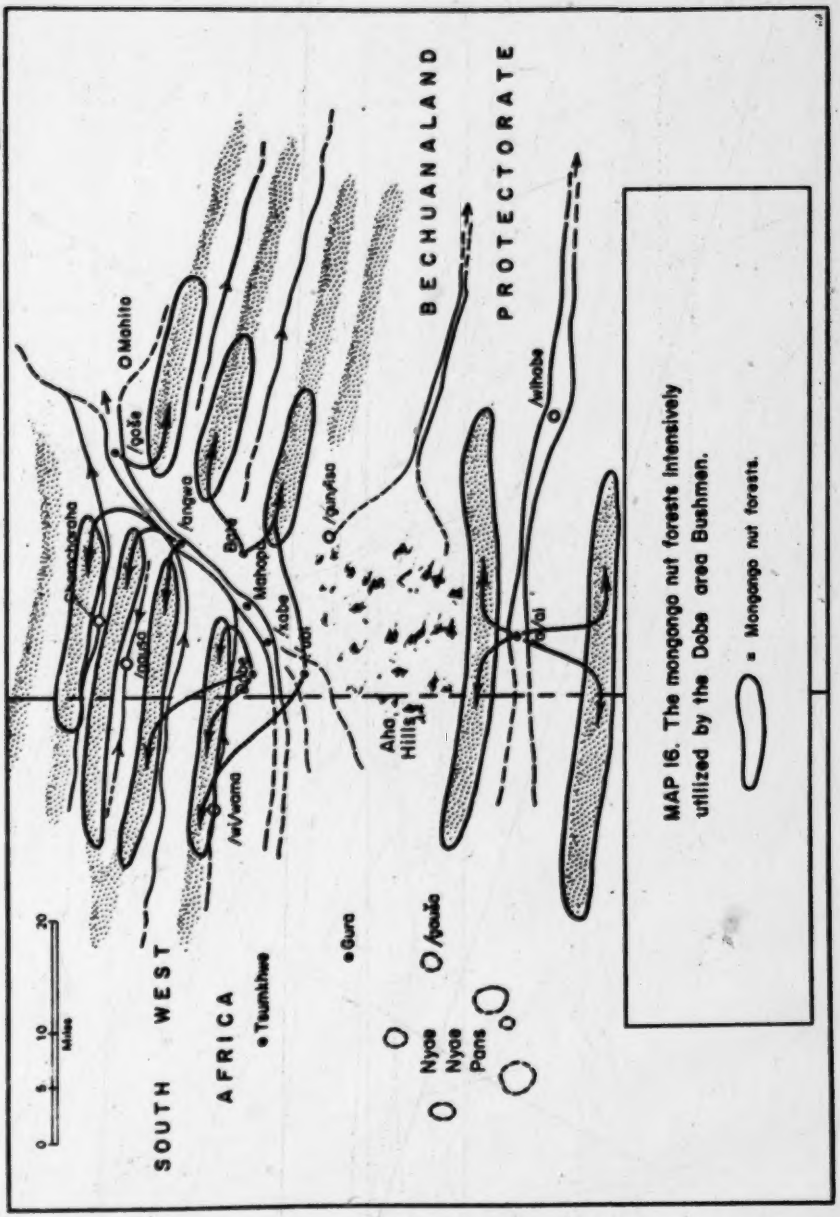

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311 the population of !gose (this is illustrated in Map 14 as well as in Map 16).

A further example will serve to illustrate how point resources influence the size of territories. It was mentioned above that each territory contains one or more large summer water sources. In most cases these summer waters are less than 12 miles from the permanent waterholes. In one case, however, the summer water is 23 miles distant from the permanent waterhole. The summer water at /wihabe belongs to the group of 27 people that works to the east of /ai/ai (see Map 14). This group lays claim to the land between /ai/ai and /wihabe. But they do not utilize this area in their subsistence activities. Rather they hike through it in order to move from one point resource to another, i.e. from their winter water at /ai/ai to their summer water at /wihabe.

3. Territorial overlap - Territories are so loosely defined by the Dobe area !Kung that certain areas are claimed by none of the camps and consequently are utilized by everyone. Wherever territories adjoin, there is a belt of "no-man's land" for which no one is prepared to make a definite statement of ownership. This uncertainty is usually expressed by informants as follows: "The owners of this land died long ago, today we don't know who owns it."

The Aha Hills illustrate this territorial overlap. The

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hills hold standing water only during the summer months. During this season, the members of two /ai/ai camps, the !ubi camp, and the Bate camp mingle freely at its water sources. This mingling of groups also occurs at some of the large summer pans such as !gauša and čharačharaha where members of different winter groups come together for weeks or even months.

The foregoing discussion has highlighted the flexible nature of !Kung Bushmen territoriality. This flexibility is manifested in the frequency of visiting between waterholes, the vagueness of territorial boundaries and the existence of food areas that are said to belong to nobody.

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361 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their rainy season range and their dry season range.

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628 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

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162 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

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162 density at ca. 43 persons per 100 square miles, or two-and-a-half square miles per person. This is a rather high density figure for desert-living hunters and gatherers. The higher figure is partly due to the fact that it represents the ratio of population to the actual land area utilized. This is a more meaningful way of expressing density than is a figure based on the ratio of population to the total land area that it appears to occupy. For instance, on a map, the Dobe area covers about 2,700 square miles, but the Bushmen actively utilize less than 40 per cent of this area. It is suggested that estimates of population density for other hunting and gathering peoples would give accordingly higher values if the criterion of actual use was employed in the calculation.

Conclusion

433 These eight lines of evidence constitute the case for a revision of the anthropological view of the Bushmen. Their way of life is not impoverished or precarious. Considering the environment in which they live, the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen lead an unexpectedly comfortable and secure existence. The evidence set out here assumes an added significance because this security of life was observed during a period of severe drought. Consequently the author witnessed the worst conditions that the !Kung would have to face. One can speculate that their

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 133 134 valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

H B 137 311 Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

H B 132 133 137 The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

H B 133 *The Coastal Regions*

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Environment and Culture

The possibilities of exploitation this region offers to people lacking the highly-developed technical equipment of modern European civilization vary considerably. The ways in which the Bushmen and Hottentots utilize the natural resources of their surroundings will be discussed in some detail in later chapters. Here a rapid survey may be made of the factors conditioning the distribution and mode of life generally of the natives inhabiting the country.[1]

The most important consideration naturally is water. Animal and plant life are there in sufficient quantity to support human existence, provided a supply of water is near. Man in his primitive condition is dependent entirely on surface water for the satisfaction of his needs, for he has not the means now possessed by civilized man for getting at the water in the depths below. The amount of surface water therefore determines the density of population in any one area, and the water available in a given area, together with the density of the vegetation, determines the number and size of the settlements in that area.

The character of the country, moreover, limits at once the types of culture that can become indigenous there. South Africa even under modern conditions can only carry on agriculture in certain parts, and most of the country could never support a primitive population of pure agriculturists. It is only in the well-watered districts to the north and east and along the south coast that native agriculture has been developed to any extent. On the other hand, there is an abundant fauna and a sufficiency of vegetable life to afford good subsistence to men. The type of culture then that we would *a priori* expect to find here would be one based largely on hunting and collecting. This is exactly what we do find. The abundance of game formerly existing in South Africa makes it readily comprehensible that hunting at one time played a great role in all parts of the country, and therefore that hunting peoples were distributed all over its surface. All the native peoples of South Africa, whatever other means of subsistence they have, rely to some extent at least for food on the products of the chase and on the edible bulbs and roots of the veld.

A country, however, which can support great numbers of buck

[1] For special discussions of the South African environment in relation to man, cf. Passarge, op. cit., pp. 162–75; *idem*, "Die Grundlinien im ethnographischen Bilde der Kalahari-Region," *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 20–36, 68–88; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), pp. 14–28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10-

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and other grass and herb-eating animals will also support other species of these animals, provided that conditions such as the absence of the tsetse fly and other pests are favourable. Hence we also find pastoral tribes, who have come in from other regions bringing with them great herds of cattle and immense flocks of sheep and goats. One important point must, however, be noticed. Country which, under modern farming conditions, will only carry a small herd of cattle, sheep, and goats, used formerly to carry large herds of well-fed antelopes and zebras. The explanation is that each wild species is specially adapted to living on certain bushes or plants, and that many natural foodstuffs useless to farm stock were made use of by one species or another of wild game. It must also be remembered that the wild game was not restricted by farm boundaries; it was free to shift its ground according to the seasons and the supplies of food and water. For the same reasons a nomadic life was imposed on the native tribes keeping domestic animals, although nowadays with the extension of the European settlements the areas over which free movement is possible have become greatly restricted.

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Viewed in this light, the natural regions of South Africa which have been described above are seen to differ widely in their value for culture. Certain parts of the country, such as the Namib desert strip and the interior of Bushmanland, are largely uninhabitable. The rainfall in both is exceedingly slight, and there is practically no surface water all the year round. In parts of the Namib, however, the river-courses from the mountains of the South-West African plateau periodically carry water, which is dammed up in a few places by rocky outcrops in the river beds, and above all there is the *!naras* melon, whose fruit is sufficiently succulent to provide a substitute for water. Agriculture is completely out of the question. The thin scattered population which the region can support is forced to lead a nomadic hunting life, although in the east, towards the borders of the plateau, the grass which flourishes during the rainy season occasionally permits of pastoralism.

The greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari lacks surface water during the dry season only. The water supply at other times is generally sufficient to permit of temporary settlements, although the porous sand covering of the surface absorbs all the rainfall, so that except in the pans and other waterholes the standing water rapidly disappears. The region is sparsely inhabited, and mostly by nomadic peoples. Agriculture is again impossible, save in a few tracts to the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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east, where the soil is more favourable, but the rainfall is too uncertain to enable grain to be grown with a reasonable prospect of success. The abundance of grass in many parts, especially during the rainy season, affords good pasture to cattle, but the region is above all an excellent hunting ground, and formerly at least it was extraordinarily rich in game. Hence its inhabitants are in the first place hunting peoples, and their life is conditioned by the movements of the game. At the beginning of the rainy season the animals wander out of the permanently-watered regions encircling the desert into its sandy plains, where water is found only in pans, pools, and waterholes. The hunters follow them. As the dry season sets in and the water in the pans begins to shrink, part of the game returns to the watered regions, part of it, however, continues to live in the plains on the *tsama* melons and other succulent plants—and the hunters do the same.

In the well-watered Northern Kalahari three great streams, the Okavango, Kwando, and Zambesi, overflow on to the flat land, in some parts continuously, in others periodically, and thus give rise to an extensive region of swamps. This marshy region is excellent hunting and fishing ground. Its population, more numerous and densely settled than in the rest of the Kalahari, is therefore primarily concerned with these two pursuits. The natives indeed are actually forced to resort in part to fishing, since for motives of security they live mainly on the small islands between the swamps and the rivers. The periodic rise of the rivers annually floods wide stretches of the country, resulting in displacements and wanderings of the game. Consequently, the natives also must roam, partly because their habitations are flooded out, partly because they must follow the animals. Both agriculture and pastoralism are also carried out in parts of the country. The cattle pasture in the sandveld away from the swamps, while the marshy region can only be used for the cultivation of crops, since for wide stretches it is infested by the tsetse.

The upland regions encircling the Kalahari basin on the south-east, south, and west, have for the most part a scanty rainfall. The permanent settlement of this belt during the dry season is therefore restricted to the scattered waterholes, which occur in river beds, on mountain slopes or in depressions on the hard soil. Waterless stretches from 40 to 100 miles in extent are no rarity, so that the settlements are frequently distributed far apart over the land. Here, as in other regions of South Africa, hunting must depend on the movements of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border, mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies, river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155.

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den ǂKun-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *!noe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-||om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jodika, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. [222] [224] [311]

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222 622 [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.